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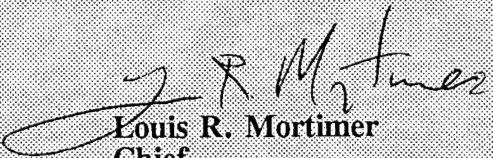
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## PREFACE

This bibliography is culled primarily from books and scholarly journals received during the previous quarter, although significant periodical articles are also cited. Some sources, dependent on surface mails and convoluted routing, are dated slightly. Their entry herein is contingent solely on date of receipt. The array of political, military, strategic, and other materials cited is derived from general, regional, and some national publications published yearly, quarterly, monthly, weekly, or erratically. Hence, sources differ from quarter to quarter. The intent of the bibliographers is to provide a good sampling of regional-related sources to aid the researcher in maintaining awareness of developments. No presumption of comprehensiveness is made.

Analysts contributing to this bibliography are LaVerle Berry, Robert Handloff, Mary Louise Harmon, T. Robert Lenaghan, Kenneth Liberstein, and Rachel Warner.

Africa General

Curtis, Michael. "Africa, Israel and the Middle East." Middle East Review, vol. 17, no. 4 (Summer 1985), pp. 5-22.

The author suggests that representatives of Arab and Communist countries with poor human rights records indulge in anti-Zionist rhetoric, denouncing Israel as a racist state. The result of this rhetoric has been the deterioration of Israel's previously cordial relations with black Africa. The article reviews Israel's early relations with black African states, especially in the 1950s and 1960s, and their breakdown, first because of Israel's victory in the 1967 Six Day War, and second because of the alleged close ties between Israel and South Africa. It then discusses recent African disillusionment with the Arab countries because of the oil embargo in the 1970s and consequent economic hardship in Africa, although Arab political and economic pressure, as well as influence, still remain forces in African-Israeli relations. Nonetheless, the author concludes, African countries have become aware that the Arab-Israeli conflict is political, having no connection with the elimination of racial discrimination in Africa.

Dickson, David A. United States Foreign Policy Towards Sub-Saharan Africa. Lanham: University Press of America, 1985, 195 pp.

This book offers a series of concise summaries of different US administrations' African policies since 1960. Dickson explores US African policy through the use of a particular model of the bureaucratic process by which foreign policy decisions are made and implemented. He finds that high-level administration figures have had little effect on the final shape of US policy which is primarily articulated by lower and mid-level State Department bureaucrats. Significant changes in US policy often correlate with the degree of tenaciousness with which administration "higher-ups" actively intervene in the policy making-process.

Ostheimer, John M. "Cooperation Among African States." In African Security Issues: Sovereignty, Stability, and Solidarity, ed. Bruce Arlinghaus, Boulder: Westview Press, 1984, pp. 157-70.

While the effects of alienation and need for cooperation among African states are readily apparent, attempts to mobilize support for regional and continental cooperation have met with frustration and failure. Moreover, attempts at regional cooperation will continue to fail as long as African states pursue integration using the European model. That model is proving difficult for Europeans, and the underlying historical and economic linkages in Africa are substantially weaker. Ostheimer also argues that regional cooperation in the manner of the Economic Organization of West African States (ECOWAS) will flourish but at the detriment of continental cooperation and, ultimately, security prospects. For Africa to have an impact, all states must share a commitment to concede some degree of sovereignty. For the moment, there is little evidence of such a commitment.

Wolfson, Adam. "Heart of Darkness." Policy Review, no. 34 (Fall 1985), pp. 42-46.

While agreeing that South Africa is a repressive police state employing a Soviet-like system of internal control, Wolfson contends that other African states, perhaps less systematically, also deny fundamental civil and constitutional rights to their citizenry. Thus the moral campaign against South Africa must be broadened to encompass all of Africa. To resist this expansion of focus is to accept the racist proposition that blacks under black rule are less entitled to civil protection than blacks under white rule. While making a valid point, Wolfson understates the systematic nature of repression under apartheid, which he unfairly equates to the historically ephemeral tyrannies of petty dictators.

Zakheim, Dov S. "Locally Generated Contingencies in the Third World." In Intervention in the Third World, eds. Maurer and Porth, New York: Praeger, 1984, pp. 67-86.

This article attempts to assess in a general manner the potential threats to US interests posed by local conflicts in the Third World. Zakheim's thesis is that the United States must assume an active role when and where it perceives its interests to be threatened. Failing to do this, he argues, will encourage the Soviets to view the United States as weak and indecisive, thus giving them a green light for expanding their sphere of influence in the Third World. Though the author presents a reasonable set of criteria for deciding whether or not any given local conflict poses a threat to US interests, he incorrectly assumes that the only way to influence the outcome of these conflicts is through military action. This approach ignores other options such as political and economic pressure, which might produce favorable results at lower costs. The article also suffers from a number of factual inaccuracies--such as characterizing UNITA as a "domestic" movement lacking any external sources of support. In fact UNITA receives a large amount of aid from South Africa.

#### Burkina Faso

Brittain, Victoria. "Introduction to Sankara and Burkina Faso." Review of African Political Economy, no. 32 (April 1985), pp. 39-47.

The author gives a brief summary of events leading to the establishment of the Sankara regime. This article is particularly useful for the focus it places on the roles of certain key individuals in recent Burkinabe political events. In particular, the author's impressions seem to have been formed from direct candid personal contact with some of these same people.

Sankara, Thomas. "The Political Orientation of Burkina Faso." Review of African Political Economy, no. 32 (April 1985), pp. 48-55.

This tract consists of excerpts from President Sankara's 20 October 1983 speech which, for the first time, explicitly defined the political philosophy of his regime and set the tone for most subsequent rhetoric. Sankara also elaborates his conception of the role of the Revolutionary Defense Committees. The general tone of this piece is noteworthy for its ringing denuncements of "neo-colonialism" and "imperialism"--words which before Sankara had not been in the Burkinabe political lexicon.

Cameroon

Kofele-Kale, Ndiva. Tribesmen and Patriots. Washington: University Press of America, 1981, 359 pp.

Since independence, the leaders of Cameroon have struggled to instill a sense of nationhood among the 7.5 million Cameroonians, but have met with only limited success. To explain that absence of political integration, Kofele-Kale points to ethnic cleavages, but also to the rural-urban distinction and to differential access to the fruits of development, both of which he considers the more important. He concludes by generalizing that in polyethnic states like Cameroon, national identification can transcend more localized loyalties when and only when such an identification yields tangible economic benefits.

Gambia

Wiseman, John A. "The Social and Economic Bases of Party Political Support in Serekunda, The Gambia." Journal of Commonwealth & Comparative Politics, vol. 23, no. 1 (March 1985), pp. 3-29.

This article presents the results of a survey conducted by the author near the capital in the town of Serekunda. The survey attempts to correlate indicators of social and economic status (ethnicity, age, profession, education, etc.) with support for the two main Gambian political parties--the ruling People's Progressive Party (PPP) and the opposition National Convention Party (NCP). The author's main findings are that in general ethnicity is a relatively minor factor in determining political orientation and that there is little difference between the two parties in terms of both ideology and popular support. More surprising, however, was the discovery that there do seem to be significant differences between people who support one of the two parties and people who support neither. The latter group tends to be younger and better educated. This provides some indication that a "generation gap" is present in Gambian politics and that the young are increasingly alienated from the whole political scene in its current form.

Malawi

L'Hoiry, P. "Le Malawi, un Anti-Modele en Afrique Australe (Malawi, An Antithesis in Southern Africa)?" Politique Africaine, September 1985, pp. 61-65.

An openly capitalist and conservative country within a regional environment which adheres mostly to Socialist ideas, Malawi has chosen to take the long and difficult route of agricultural development. The author discusses Malawi's economic and regional policies and its internal politics. He concludes that even while the economic situation is slowly improving, numerous uncertainties continue to exist--the most destabilizing of which is the question of succession.

### Mauritania

Ojo, M. Adeleye. "The Foreign Policy of Mauritania." African Affairs, vol. 17, no. 4 (1984-85), pp. 347-61.

The author of this article is mainly concerned with the foreign policy of Mauritania toward its North African neighbors and other African states. In addition, he also analyses Mauritanian policies toward the West, the East, the United States and the United Nations. The article's main conclusion is that Mauritanian foreign policy will continue to revolve around the goals of weakening apartheid and supporting decolonization. This article is one of the few sources in English on the foreign policy of this Sahelian country.

### Mozambique

Cahen, M. "Etat et Pouvoir Populaire dans le Mozambique Independant (State and Popular Power in Independent Mozambique)." Politique Africaine, September 1985, pp. 36-60.

This article presents a detailed discussion of the governmental, party, and social structures established by the Machel government since independence in 1975. Cahen believes that by respecting democratic rights the government can win popular support and achieve the unity necessary to develop the country. He gives particular attention to the fusion of party and state structures along with the introduction between 1977 and 1980 of elected people's assemblies and "mass democratic organizations," both of which play an important role in strategic policy by encouraging worker unity.

Pinto, Jaime and Huber, Mark. "The White House's Confusing Signals on Mozambique." Paper prepared for the Heritage Foundation, 19 September 1985, Washington, 9 pp.

A biased and didactic piece prepared by a Portuguese writer on international affairs and an American freelance writer, this article discusses the implications of pro-Soviet Mozambican leader Samora Machel's talks with Reagan administration officials. The authors give

an historical overview of events leading up to the Nkomati Accord. They also discuss the Mozambique National Resistance Movement (RENAMO) and the state of relations between Mozambique and both the Soviet Union and the United States. The paper charges that the Reagan administration's pursuit of relations with Machel is inconsistent with the administration's self-proclaimed doctrine supporting anti-Marxist insurgencies. The authors conclude, therefore, that the United States must make clear to Machel that US sympathies are with those struggling to move Mozambique away from its embrace of the Soviet bloc and its Marxist ideology.

Namibia

Cleary, Sean. "Facing Reality." Lincoln Review, Spring 1985, pp. 29-37.

The author introduces the premise that in view of the thousands of pages of propaganda and analyses on the subject of Namibia, the reality of the country is often distorted. He thus undertakes to clarify the picture by concentrating primarily on the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), including its composition and ideology.

Cullinan, Sue. "SWAPO and the Future of Namibia." South Africa International, vol. 15, no. 3 (January 1985), pp. 141-49.

This brief piece examines Namibia's insurgent South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). The author pays close attention to the factors that have contributed to the shaping of the organization's ideological direction, sources of popular support and SWAPO's political agenda. She suggests that South Africa's concern about a SWAPO-led government in Namibia results from the potential impact that the election of a popular majority government would have on South Africa itself.

Diener, I. "Quel Avenir Pour La Namibie Apres Lusaka (What Kind of Future for Namibia After Lusaka)?" Politique Africaine, September 1985, pp. 29-35.

This article presents an analysis of the Lusaka Accord, signed in February 1984 by South Africa after negotiations with US and Angolan representatives. Contrary to the Nkomati Accord, which addresses several issues, the Lusaka Accord deals only with the eventual withdrawal of South African troops from Angola and avoids making any concessions to the insurgent South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). The author suggests that the issue of Namibian independence takes second place in US and South African negotiations to the departure of Cuban troops from Angola. He concludes that Namibia will continue to remain under South Africa's political influence, thereby perpetuating its neocolonial status.

Schoeman, Stanley and Schoeman, Elna, eds. Namibia. Oxford, England: Clio Press, 1984, 186 pp.

As a volume in the World Bibliographical Series, this book presents annotated entries on works dealing with history, geography, economics, politics, population, culture, customs, religion, and social organization. It also includes information on current living conditions in Namibia.

Spicer, Michael. "Namibia: The Long Road to Independence." South Africa International, vol. 15, no. 3 (January 1985), pp. 133-40.

A discussion of Namibia's future, this article focuses on the elements of change and continuity detectable in South African policy in the recent past, the impact of US constructive engagement "policy, and prospects for the immediate future.

### Nigeria

Mazrui, Ali. "Niger-Saki: Does Nigeria Have a Nuclear Option?" Nigerian Institute of International Affairs Lecture Series, no. 33, n.d.

This paper starts with the premise that if the fundamental question for Nigeria is how its technological credentials can match the country's size in the global equation, then nuclear technology is the answer. The source of that technology is to be a Civilian Third World Triumvirate including Nigeria, Brazil, India, and possibly Egypt. That would be followed by a Military African Triumvirate to include black South Africa, Zaire, and Nigeria. As a nuclear power Nigeria would be able to resist a Northern (meaning the industrialized world) technological monopoly, close the power gap between South Africa and Black Africa, and make a dent in world affairs. Mazrui concludes that only when the supposedly unstable Third World possesses its own atomic arms and can also engage in nuclear Russian roulette, will the superpowers retreat from the brink of global genocide.

Okolo, Julius Emeka. "Nuclearization of Nigeria." Comparative Strategy, vol. 5, no. 2 (1985), pp. 135-57.

While the expense of going nuclear would seemingly preclude Nigeria--and most of sub-Saharan Africa--from such an adventure, Dr. Okolo has found little or no principled opposition within Nigeria to the efforts and expenses required to exploit nuclear technology. Concerns with South African and French influence, Nigeria's future energy needs, and Nigeria's relative impotence vis-a-vis the nuclear world are apparently impelling some among Nigeria's bureaucratic, political, and scientific elite to argue for the investment. The Nigerian Atomic Energy Commission, entrusted with developing nuclear technology and uranium mining, has stated that the costs of becoming black Africa's first

nuclear power as measured in human resources, construction materials, improvements to infrastructure, and uranium itself are not insurmountable, especially if Nigeria is willing to forswear acquiring nuclear weapons. Moreover, meeting Nigeria's energy needs even as early as the 1990s could require nuclear technology, according to the author. Dr. Okolo, however, does not indicate how Nigeria might pay those costs.

### Senegal/Gambia

Daziron, Isabelle. "La Senegambie, quel avenir (Senegambia: What future)?" Afrique Contemporaine, no. 135 (July-September 1985), pp. 56-59.

This article presents a brief introduction to the problems of building a truly integrated Senegambian political union. In the opinion of the author, now that the national security of the Gambia is guaranteed by a legitimate confederal security force, the Gambian elite has little reason to pursue further the question of economic integration, which is of great importance to Senegal. This is because Gambia, with its lower tariffs and taxes, is the center for a flourishing smuggling trade with Senegal. It is estimated, for instance, that Gambia imports 10 times the amount of goods that it consumes; the surplus is merely smuggled into Senegal. Senegal's desire to foster a concrete political and economic union, which it would inevitably dominate, thus runs against the interests of the many Gambians involved in this profitable clandestine trade.

### South Africa

Davies, R. and O'Meara, D. "La 'Strategie Totale' en Afrique Australe: La Politique Regionale de l'Afrique du Sud Depuis 1978 (The 'Total Strategy' in Southern Africa: The Regional Politics of South Africa Since 1978)." Politique Africaine, September 1985, pp. 7-28.

The "total strategy" mentioned in the title refers to the intensive struggle of the apartheid government in the past several years to confirm its hegemony in the region and to be recognized by the international community as the regional power of southern Africa. This strategy has included selective and intensive destabilization policies, which reached a new level in 1982 when South Africa insisted that its neighbors eject African National Congress (ANC) members. It even went so far as to back up its demand with military action. But since 1984, South Africa has adopted a new strategy--the signing of nonaggression accords with its neighbors. It hopes this will aid its efforts to gain international respect and recognition. The authors conclude that Pretoria's international and regional isolation stems mostly from its internal system of apartheid and that real peace in South Africa is inconceivable as long as apartheid continues to exist.

Davies, Rob; O'Meara, Dan; and Dlamini, Sipho. The Struggle for South Africa: A Reference Guide To Movements, Organizations, and Institutions. vols. 1, 2. London: Zed Books, Ltd, 1984, 440 pp.

This book is based on new research into the processes of capital accumulation, class struggle, and national liberation in South Africa. Each thematic section comprises an introductory essay, entries on individual organizations, a note on sources and a brief guide to further reading. The whole work is prefaced by an overview of the historical development and present functioning of the apartheid system.

Gutteridge, William. "The South African Crisis: Time for International Action." Conflict Studies, no. 179 (August 1985), pp. 1-22.

Gutteridge offers an analysis of the dramatically transformed political scene in South Africa and the response of the Western world to it. He includes a review of events in the past few months, including the declaration in July 1985 of a state of emergency and the techniques of resistance employed by blacks. Some attention is also given to the role of the African National Congress (ANC). The article goes on to discuss the conditions for effective reform, an agenda for change and the international pressure on the apartheid regime. The author concludes by suggesting that the international community take a less coercive approach than applying economic sanctions, which only create chaos and reinforce the resistance of the South African Government to change. Instead, the author suggests, a carrot should be offered, such as the implementation of a plan analogous to the Marshall Plan for Europe in all of southern Africa in order to create peace on the borders of South Africa, which he views as a necessary condition for internal conciliation.

Johnson, Paul. "The Race for South Africa." Commentary, September 1985, pp. 27-32.

The author questions the wisdom of US policymakers for deliberately setting about to destroy the still-developing South African economy. In criticizing US disinvestment policy vis-a-vis South Africa, Johnson claims that South Africa is a typical African country. He delineates six important ways in which South Africa is like its neighbors, while at the same time noting four ways in which it differs--the most important of which is that it is simply a lot wealthier. He then continues to point out that the South African Government has been steadily moving away from apartheid. In conclusion, the author postulates that disinvestment will ultimately strengthen both the regime and the economy, in much the same way as the arms embargo led to the creation of an indigenous arms industry.

Platzky, Laurine and Walker, Cherryl. The Surplus People: Forced Removals in South Africa. Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1985, 446 pp.

A book which grew out of the work of the Surplus People Project, this volume attempts to show how the South African Government's policy of relocation--the forced removal of millions of black people--fits into the whole apartheid system. It also tries to explain how the bantustan system, influx control, and forced population removals are interwoven to maintain political and economic power in the hands of the white minority. Finally, it addresses the effects of relocation on the people and communities who are the victims of this policy.

### South Africa/Namibia

Jaster, Robert. South Africa in Namibia: The Botha Strategy. Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1985, 114 pp.

This study analyzes South Africa's perceptions, goals, and strategy in the Namibian conflict. The author argues that South African concerns over national security, on which the military has taken a strong policy stand, have provided only the most visible agenda for making policy decisions on Namibia. South African President P.W. Botha has also been influenced strongly by his concern that developments in Namibia might threaten his domestic political goals. Thus he has sought to avoid actions in Namibia that might contribute to the erosion of Afrikaner support for the ruling National Party. The study concludes that contrary to a widely held view that South Africa has pursued a strong and highly effective policy in Namibia, it is in fact a weak and irresolute policy which has neither stemmed the growing turmoil in Namibian internal politics nor led to the formulation of a coherent plan for postindependence political structures.

### Southern Africa

Price, Robert M. "Southern African Regional Security: Pax or Pox Pretoria?" World Policy Journal, vol. 2 (Summer 1985), pp. 533-54.

This article presents an analysis of the diplomatic developments in southern Africa which reflect Pretoria's overall strategy for maintaining white rule in South Africa and for gaining international acceptance of its racial policies. For example, the nonaggression accords signed by South Africa with Mozambique and Angola in 1984 stipulate that the two African countries most directly committed to the support of black liberation movements within South Africa must cooperate with South Africa in the repression of these same movements. However, while South Africa can establish hegemony in southern Africa through military and economic power, international legitimization of apartheid is more problematic. Considered in this context, the expression of black anger in the townships, the resulting state repression and the subsequent campaign in the United States for increased diplomatic and economic pressure on Pretoria may frustrate South Africa's quest for international acceptability. Thus, the author claims, the very contradiction between the requirements of domestic political control and international legitimacy has disrupted Pretoria's plans.

Rossiter, Caleb. The Bureaucratic Struggle for Control of U.S. Foreign Aid: Diplomacy vs. Development in Southern Africa. Boulder: Westview Press, 1985, 250 pp.

Rossiter is interested primarily in the bureaucratic process by which US aid to Southern Africa is allocated. His principal conclusion is that this aid, despite its supposed goal of promoting development, is in fact put to use to complement US strategic interests and has little effect on the vast majority of people living in Southern Africa.

### West Africa

Bienen, Henry. "Populist Military Regimes in West Africa." Armed Forces and Society, vol. 2, no. 3 (1985), pp. 357-77.

This article analyses the new type of military regime directed by military leaders who actively pursue constituencies beyond the armed forces. Such regimes couch their appeals to civilians in terms of equity and attempt to mobilize large segments of the population in order to obtain specific goals. The recent proliferation of regimes of this type appears to represent an expansion in the scope of the military regime model in Africa. Focusing on the so-called populist regimes in Liberia, Ghana, and Burkina Faso, Bienen concludes that they contain many elements of the one-party systems that existed in the 1960s and 1970s, and which persist in some Afro-Marxist regimes today. In the three West African states many of the old institutions mediating the states' authority have been eliminated, simultaneously overburdening weak new institutions and sharply decreasing the extent to which the armed forces are insulated from society. Their populism has not protected Samuel Doe, Jerry Rawlings, and Thomas Sankara from assassination plots or coup attempts; although the longer such charismatic leaders remain in power, the more extensive become the information and assistance networks that allow them to survive. At the same time these leaders have not been able to develop durable mediating institutions that will survive their terms in power. Ominously, Bienen concludes that other African regimes experiencing factionalism in the military and society at large will inevitably experience similar populists coups.

### Zambia

Gertzel, Cherry; Baylies, Carolyn; and Szeftel, Morris. The Dynamics of the One-Party State in Zambia. Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 1984, 262 pp.

This study is concerned primarily with the nature of social relations in the post-colonial years and their influence on institutional change. It concludes that while the introduction of the one-party state removed the danger of fragmentation which had threatened the ruling United National Independence Party (UNIP) in the early years of independence, it did not eliminate political opposition. Furthermore, the party conflicts with Parliament, trade unions, and other significant elements of society who want the party open to change. But President Kenneth Kaunda continues

to use the power of the state to maintain control, moving further along the path to greater concentration of power.

Zimbabwe

Goldsmith, Catharine Jane. "Zimbabwe Revisited." Journal of Defense and Diplomacy, vol. 3, no. 10 (October 1985), pp. 45-49.

This article discusses Zimbabwe's economic and political prospects for the future. Specifically, it deals with the security problems in Matabeleland, the role and composition of the military, Zambia's foreign relations, and its agricultural situation. The author concludes that while economic conditions have improved, a healthy future depends on how far the government is prepared to temper its pursuit of Socialist one-party goals in favor of economic growth and political stability through reconciliation.